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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 /029 W

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R 041600 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3574

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 3883

LIMDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SISCO FROM AMBASSADOR

E. O. 1165 2: GDS

TAGS: OVIP, PFOR, IN

SUBJ: PRESS REPORT ON VISIT TO INDIA OF SENIOR U. S. FOREIGN
POLICY EXPERTS

1. MORE NIGHT READING, AND NOT UNPLEASANT IF YOU DON' T
MIND BEING DESCRIBED AS A HARD- NOSED DISPASSIONATE CAREER
OFFICER. I CABLED YESTERDAY THAT REDDY APPARENTLY HAD THE
STORY, AND HE HAD. I WOULD HOPE WE MIGHT LIVE UP TO HIS
EXPECTATIONS, BUT CALL TO YOUR ATTENTION -- AS IF SUCH WERE
NECESSARY -- HOW QUICKLY EXPECTATIONS RISE HEREABOUTS.
ANYWAY, THEY HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT HARD- HEARTED, BARE
KNUCKLED JABBING JOE SISCO. ON THE OTHER HAND, YOU MIGHT
TELL KEN THAT HE IS BEGINNING TO BE THOUGHT OF AS WARM
HEARTED. WITH EFFORT, OF COURSE HE CAN OVERCOME THIS
IMAGE.

2. STORY FROM THE INDU OF APRIL 4, 1973 FOLLOWS:

TWO TOP US OFFICIALS VISITING DELHI THIS MONTH- END FOR TALKS.
BY G. K. REDDY.

THE CURRENT INDO- AMERICAN MOVES FOR BETTER RELATIONS, WHICH
HAVE BEEN INITIATED AFTER THE NEW U. S. AMBASSADOR' S ARRIVAL IN
NEW DELHI, WILL BE CARRIED FORWARD TO THE NEXT STAGE OF
SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES WITH FOLLOW- UP
TALKS AT A HIGHER LEVEL SOON.

IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRELIMINARY EXCHANGES THE PRIME
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MINISTER, MRS. INDIRA GANDHI, HAD WITH THE U. S. AMBASSADOR, MR. D. P. MOYNIHAN-- AND THE SUBSEQUENT TALKS THE FINANCE MINISTER, MR. Y. B. CHAVAN, HAD IN WASHINGTON-- PRESIDENT NIXON IS DEPUTING TWO OF HIS SENIOR FOREIGN POLICY EXPERTS TO INDIA AT THE END OF THIS MONTH FOR A CANDID DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS OF INDO AMERICAN RELATIONS.

THE UNDER- SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. KENNETH RUSH, WHO RANKS NEXT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. WILLIAM ROGERS, IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AND THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS, MR. JOSEPH SISCO, WILL BE VISITING NEW DELHI IN THE COURSE OF A QUICK SWING THROUGH THE SOUTH ASIAN REGION. AFTER MR. JOHN CONNALLY' S VISIT LAST YEAR, MR. RUSH AND MR. SISCO WILL BE THE FIRST HIGH- RANKING AMERICAN OFFICIALS TO COME TO THE SUB-CONTINENT AFTER THE BANGLADESH CONFLICT.

SECRECY. THOUGH THE U. S. EMBASSY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ARE MAINTAINING COMPLETE SECRECY ABOUT THE PURPOSE OF THEIR VISIT TO NEW DELHI AT THIS JUNCTURE, IT IS WIDELY KNOWN IN DIPLO-MATIC CIRCLES HERE THAT MR. RUSH AND MR. SISCO ARE BEING SENT TO KEEP UP THE MOMENTUM OF THE DIALOGUE THAT HAS ALREADY STARTED FOR THE NORMALISATION OF INDO- AMERICAN RELATIONS. THE DAYS OF DEEP FREEZE ARE OVER AND THE THAW, THAT HAS SET IN, HAS HELPED TO END THE EAR OF SUSPICION AND RECRIMINATION, ALTHOUGH THE OLD PRESILECTIONS AND IRRITATIONS CONTINUE TO VITIATE THE ATMOSPHERE, WITH BOTH THE COUNTRIES STILL PUTTING THE WORST INTERPRETATION TO EACH OTHER' S MOTIVES.

IF INDIA AND THE U. S. CAN GET THE PL-480 PROBLEM OUT OF THE WAY WITH A REASONABLE SETTLEMENT THAT WILL ENABLE THE DONOR TO WRITE OFF THE VAST RUPEE ACCUMULATIONS, AND THE RECIPIENT TO APPRECIATE THIS GENEROSITY WITH AN APPROPRIATE GESTURE, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO PUT THE INDO- AMERICAN RELATIONS ON A MORE REALISTIC AND DURABLE BASIS REFLECTING THE DESIRE OF THE TWO COUNTRIES TO SHED THEIR FALSE EXPECTATIONS.

RELATIONS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES. A SAD FEATURE OF THE INDO- AMERICAN RELATIONS HAS BEEN THE ELEMENT OF UNREALITY IN THEIR APPROACHES AND ATTITUDES. THERE HAVE BEEN NO DIRECT CONFLICTS OF INTEREST BETWEEN INDIA AND THE U. S., AND THEIR MAJOR DIFFERENCES HAVE ALWAYS ARISEN OVER THEIR RELATIONS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES, WHETHER IT IS CHINA, RUSSIA, VIETNAM, CUBA, ISRAEL OR PAKISTAN. THOUGH IT HAS GIVEN OVER \$10 BILLIONS IN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, THE U. S. HAS NEVER HAD A CREDIBLE POLICY ON INDIA OTHER THAN WISHING THE COUNTRY WELL. THE DONOR- CLIENT RELATION-SHIP, THAT HAS BEEN BUILT UP OVER THE YEARS, HAS PROVED PSY-CONFIDENTIAL

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CHOLOGICALLY MUCH MORE HARMFUL THAN THE SHORT- SIGHTED AMERICAN

POLICY OF ARMING PAKISTAN TURNING A BLIND EYE TO THE PAKISTANI MASSACRE OF THE BANGLADESH PEOPLE.

THERE IS MUCH GREATER NEED FOR AN INTELLECTUAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF RESTORATION OF THE INDO- AMERICAN RELATIONS THAN A CONVENTIONAL REASSESSMENT OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS THAT HAVE LED TO THE RECENT ESTRANGEMENT. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IS AS IMPORTANT AS THE CONTEMPORARY ELEMENTS WHICH INFLUENCE THE THINKING ON BOTH SIDES WHEN FACED WITH RECURRING DIFFERENCES AND FREQUENT RECRIMINATIONS.

THE TWO U. S. EMISSARIES, WHO ARE COMING TO NEW DELHI, HAVE THE CAPACITY TO LOOK AT THE INDO- AMERICAN SCENE FROM THE EMOTIONAL AND POLITICAL ANGLES. AS ONE OF THE SUCCESSFUL REPUBLICAN BUSINESSMEN WHO HAVE JOINED THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION, MR. RUSH HAS ESTABLISHED A REPUTATION FOR HIS LIBERAL VIEWS AND MAINTAINED FAIRLY CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH THE INDIAN AMBASSADOR, MR. L. K. JHA, EVEN DURING THE WORST DAYS OF THE " TILT" TOWARDS PAKISTAN. MR. SISCO, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS AN OLD- FASHIONED BUREAUCRAT, A CAREER OFFICER TO WHOM THERE IS LITTLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POLICY AND PASSION.

HARMONISING FACTOR. MR. MOYNIHAN, WITH HIS PROFOUND INTELLECT AND HUMANISM, WILL PROBABLY SERVE AS A HARMONISING AND SYNTHESIZING FACTOR BETWEEN MR. RUSH' S LIBERAL OUTLOOK AND MR. SISCO' S PENCHANT FOR STRIKING A HARD BARGAIN WHEN THEY SIT TOGETHER WITH THEIR INDIAN COUNTERPARTS TO TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT THE INDO- AMERICAN RELATIONS. THE ICE HAS BEEN BROKEN, THE THAW HAS SET IN, AND SOME MEANINGFUL APPROACHES HAVE ALREADY BEEN MADE BY THE TWO SIDES. BUT THE U. S. MUST TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN REASSURING INDIA THAT, DESPITE ITS SAD RECORD IN VIETNAM AND ITS UNFORTUNATE BEHAVIOUR DURING THE BANGLADESH CRISIS, IT HAS NOT LOST FAITH IN ITS OWN TRADITIONAL VALUES. INDIA, IN TURN, SHOULD RISE TO THE OCCASION AND THINK MORE IN TERMS OF THE FUTURE WITHOUT HARPING TOO MUCH OVER THE PAST.

3. YOURS FOR HUMANISTIC VALUES.
MOYNIHAN

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** LIMDIS
*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts:
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 APR 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NEWDE03883
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NEW DELHI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730433/aaaahpjg.tel
Line Count: 154
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 DEC 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17-Dec-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <08-Jan-2002 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 971125
Subject: PRESS REPORT ON VISIT TO INDIA OF SENIOR U. S. FOREIGN POLICY EXPERTS
TAGS: OVIP, PFOR, IN
To: NEA
SECSTATE WASHDC
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005